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FRONTISPIECE :

Phaggu and Family.

[Facing Title Page]

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PLATE I.

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Kol Women near Jubbulpore.

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PLATE II.

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Raja Kol of Garha—a Rautiya.

Phuli & Bansku—Thakuriya Kols

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same as Borowar on our list; Bin and Binj are probably the same, and Harwariya may have become Garhvariya; the ploughman becoming the fortress-dweller.

Russell and Hiralal[1] state that they found the subcastes noted below, but their results appear to be based on materials gathered from the eastern edge of the Central Provinces. It will be noted that there are points of agreement and disagreement between their list and ours: Rautia, Rautele, Thakuriya, Kagwaria, Desaha, Bharia, Savar and Khairwar. They also include as "totemistic septs" the following: Bargaiyan, Kathotia, Katharia, Kumhra and Bhuwar.

1. *Rautiya.* This designation is believed to be derived from the word Rawat meaning "a prince," and as such may be traced to some ancient landholding or warrior group among the Kols in centuries past. This group claims to be the highest of the Kol *kurhis* and such assertions were usually not disputed by either Thakuriyas or others in joint group discussions; although on one or two occasions it was controverted as recorded under the Thakuriya (*vide p.* 41). Almost without exception the Rautiyas make use of the Brahmin priest at the time of wedding, and of the Hindu *nai* or barber, and the *dhobi* or washerman in certain ceremonies connected with birth and death. Not to do this would be to sin against social conventions; yet in one or two cases we were told that if a Rautiya is too poor to employ a Brahmin he might make other arrangements. This probably means that far back in their history they attended to such matters themselves, but have now become Hinduized and feel unable to act for themselves. Rautiyas made the claim that they move freely among Hindus and are recognized by them in a manner that other Kol *kurhis* are not. While the group is theoretically endogamous, hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas. This is probably a relic from the time when intermarriage was common, but the process of Hinduization has now stabilized the *kurhis*. They admit that if necessary Thakuriya girls may be married to Rautiya boys, but deny that they ever give their girls in marriages to Thakuriyas. If a *swasaha* Rautiya—those whom perform marriage without the help of a Brahmin—has an eligible son they would give their daughter to him in marriage only if it is agreed that the Brahmin priest and the *nai*, will officiate in the regular way.

Rautiyas have a very definite taboo in the case of the horse. Horse manure is absolutely forbidden to be touched. There are several curious stories that came to our attention. One of them is that in the dim ages past Bhagawan gave the Kols the gift of a horse. In a few

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Article Kol.

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PLATE XIII.

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Dhunka of Garha - a Rautiya Kol.

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A Kathauta Rautiya with the wooden bowl from which they must eat. Near Karni.

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PLATE XIV.

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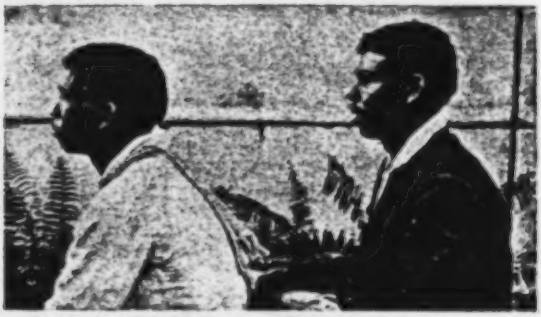
Jagdeo - a Thakuriya Kol.



Bharosa and Nunhu - Thakuriya Kols.

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PLATE XI.

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Kol Elders in Rewa State.

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Elders in Panagar discussing Kol Customs.

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part of one, and if another person should get it he would have power over the child. Its burial is also, strangely, a proof of birth. If a Kol is asked where he was born he replies: "My *nara* is buried in...." and names the village. In a real sense a part of him is buried there and he is a part of that village. The spot is plastered over with a mixture of cow dung, earth and water, and the fire lit over it. The *hom* sacrifice may also be offered. 846 [237] 782

Any extraordinary happening at birth or anything unusual is generally considered a bad sign. For example, a child born with teeth already in its mouth is much feared, for it signifies bad luck and a member of the family, probably one of the parents, will be sure to die within a short time. They say the child has come to destroy a member of the family. An extra finger, though, is considered as a good omen. Twins seem to have no special significance attached to them and their occurrence appears to be infrequent among the Kols. 845 787

The Sixth Day Ceremony: *Chhatthi*. After six days it is believed that the greatest period of danger is over and the woman can begin to make preparations to take up her normal life. This period corresponds with the time of greatest physical danger, for by the sixth day after birth, the dreaded septicaemia, if it is to come, will make its appearance. When day has come and all is well the *dhobi* and the *nai* are usually sent for. The former takes all the soiled clothes. The wife, after a preliminary bath and anointing by the *dai*, puts on fresh clothes. The barber trims the nails of her hands and feet and puts vermilion on both her feet and the feet of her child so that no evil spirit may harm them as they make their way to the place of the ceremonial bath. Her head has been oiled with *til* oil and occasionally the child has been pricked on the stomach with a hot iron, so that "the waters may be digested". All the earthen vessels in the house should be thrown out and new ones purchased from the Kumhar, and the house should be cleaned and plastered. The *nai* also gives the male members of the family a good shave, both of the face and the head. 846 [164] [302] [4:5] [302]

The mother is now ready for the ceremonial bath at the village bathing place. The women of the household go there in a group accompanied by a Basor beating a drum. This is done just at sundown. The mother carries a brass vessel (*lota*) on the top of which burns an earthenware lamp (*diya*). At the place of bathing offerings are made: cocoanut, *haldi*, *supari*. Incense may be sprinkled in the fire in the lamp. Mustard seed (*rai*) is often scattered about in order to frighten off any evil spirits which may be at the place ready to injure the mother and the child. There is then a formal sort of bath, the water being [354 415] [782] [789]

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derived from the month of *Phagun* (February-March), or the town or village of his birth may be selected. More often though, the name of some Hindu deity or hero is given: combinations of Ram being common as Ram Prasad, Ram Avatar and the like. In Appendix II is given a list of Kol names.

It is common though, to find that the name thus officially given to the child is seldom used in actual life and a pet name or *alias* is used. This name is often a coarse one, or one considered inauspicious. The real name is kept secret and often forgotten and the child becomes known by his alias. A name is really part of one's personality and can be misused if obtained possession of by an unfriendly person or spirit. So the child may be called *Makkhi* (fly), *Ghatita* and *Ghasu* (pulled up, useless), *Pagal* (crazy), *Langra* (lame), *Ghuruwa* (filth) or *Kana* (one-eyed). When directly asked why such names as these are given two answers were commonly given: the first is that high caste people did not like to hear low caste people called by high-sounding names. This is probably a rationalization, though there may be truth in it. The second answer was the frank avowal that some malicious person or *bhut* might come to know of the real name and through it work some mischief on the person concerned.

Hair Cutting: *Mundan*. Occasionally this also becomes an opportunity for a ceremony of a special kind, but like name-giving a great deal is not made of it; particularly among the more primitive Kols. If the family is somewhat Hinduized they may have the hair cut on the banks of the sacred Nerbudda River; or the ceremony may be performed in the house by calling the Hindu *nai*, who shaves the head, leaving but a small top-knot called the *choti*. Adult Kols, however, do not always keep the *choti*. If they can afford it a young kid or pig is sacrificed at this time and the blood sprinkled over a fire placed before some *devi* such as Shardamai. The animal is then cooked and is feasted upon by all. The *nai* may be paid one rupee for his services. The time of hair cutting is not fixed, but it is generally done between the time of the close of the mother's impurity and the first anniversary of the child's birth. Yet there are exceptions to this, even if it be the regular procedure, for we have often seen Kol boys with uncut and unkempt hair. When the older folks have been asked why this is allowed they have given various answers. One family said that they would not cut their child's hair until they returned to their native land of Rewa when it would be "properly" cut. Another said that until there was a marriage in the family they would not cut the child's hair. It is also held that it is left uncut so that the demons will believe

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that the child is a girl and let him alone, for it is boys that they really try to get hold of.

Hair from the first cutting should never be thoughtlessly thrown out on the ground. The best thing to do is to wrap it in a small piece of cloth and take it to the Nerbudda River where it is thrown in as an offering. No special trip to the river is required and the hair may be kept in the house until some convenient season or until some friend or relative happens to be going that way. The belief that magic may be worked with hair is prevalent in India, but Kols do not seem to fear this danger, nor do they believe that another may work harm by possessing it. [826] [754]

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[407]

First Feeding: *Pasni*. Most Kols attach considerable importance to the child's first feeding with solid food. This should be done when the child is about six months old. One group said that the feeding should be done at five months in the case of a girl and six months for a boy. This indicates Hindu influences.

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The family invites as many of the child's relatives as they can afford to feed for a general feast following the ceremony. The child is to be fed with sweetened *khir*—rice boiled in milk—which has been specially prepared for this occasion. A portion of *khir* is placed in a small cup made from the leaves of the mango tree (*Mangifera indica*). As the ceremony begins, the friends and relatives wash their hands with water specially brought for them; the child's teeth, if in, are cleaned by being lightly brushed with a mango twig. The person who breaks the child's "fast", and this may be one of a number of relatives, among whom we find mentioned the name of the father, mother and father's sister (*phuphu*), first dips the index finger of the right hand into the *khir* and brings a portion up to the child's mouth but does not actually touch its lips, for the finger is immediately withdrawn. This movement is made six times, but on the seventh occasion the finger is put into the child's mouth and with it a bit of the *khir* is inserted. Others present follow in the same way until all have fed the infant. Each one who thus feeds the child is supposed to drop into a dish beside it some money, the amount varying according to circumstances: it ought not to be less than four pice and may be as much as eight annas. The money thus collected is used to buy silver bangles for the child. [515] [602]

Sometimes the child is fed with a silver coin rather than by the plain finger. This may be an influence of Hinduism. One group said the silver coin must be either a four or eight anna piece. The coin used is dipped into the *khir* and the baby fed on the seventh approach as in the above description. The *phuphu* receives the coins by which

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of charms used are discussed in the chapter on Magic and Witchcraft.

PUBERTY. From the above mentioned ceremonies until the Kol child reaches puberty, there is little of importance to note. When the first milk tooth falls out the child is told to take it outside near the house, to shut his eyes and to throw it on the roof, never looking to see where it has gone. This will aid in the coming in of the new tooth.

The girl is tattooed when between the ages of ten and twelve and just before her marriage may be given further tattooing. In the Kaimur hills it was said that a woman must be tattooed, for without it Bhagawan would not know how to grasp her and take her spirit on its way to the heavens. No ceremonies occur at the time of tattooing, and apart from saying that it is the custom Kols could give us almost no information on the matter. The designs are usually similar to those of their Hindu neighbours and the actual tattooing is done by the same man who does it for other castes. See the description on pages 28-31.

No particular rites are observed in connection with the girl's first menstruation. At such a time she is asked to stay in the house and if there is a second room into which she can go she retires there. She is not put out into a menstruation hut as is common among some Munda tribes. During the four to six days that the menses last she is considered unclean and should not cook, bring water for the family, nor touch men's clothes. When the menses have ceased she has to go to the village shrine and offer a cocoanut.

Nowhere among the Kols were we able to find any definite trace of puberty rites which are common elsewhere. We were told that a boy of the Kol tribe could only be considered a Kol when he reached the age of twelve to thirteen. In the full sense he becomes of age when he is sixteen. A girl is considered to be of age when she goes to live for good in the house of her husband. No traces were discovered of any ordeal that either sex had to undergo; no scars are made on the body nor were any hair tying ceremonies observed among the groups studied.

Bachelors' Quarters. No trace was found of bachelors' quarters nor of segregated dormitories for boys and girls, which are well-known among the Mundas and allied tribes of Chota Nagpur. The Gonds of Bastar and elsewhere also have them. They have been considered as a place for sex instruction but the system has been widely criticised by the more advanced Mundas and is being abandoned in many places. Other writers have attributed no social or religious importance to these quarters. One writes: "The thing is that the poor people in a village cannot afford to build big houses for themselves containing

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584 him verbally (give *gali*), take all kinds of liberties with him and try
252 their best to make him lose his temper. He is supposed to take no
[578] notice of this but to remain calmly at his work. After the *lawa* is prepared (the man does not prepare all that is required) it is put into
[532] a new *ghara* decorated with pictures representing females. Sometimes other articles are also put into the *ghara* —uncooked rice, bits of *supari* nut, *haldi* and two-pice coins. When prepared at the bride-groom's house the *lawa* is kept to be taken with the boy's party on their trip to the girl's village for the *sadi* and is there mixed with the *lawa* prepared in the girl's house for use at the time of the wedding. The preparation of the *lawa*, which is made a day or two before the group
[574 leaves for the wedding, is made the occasion for the reconciliation of
626 estranged relatives within the village and the consequent restoration
578] of friendship. This reconciliation may also be extended to any member of the *kurhi* with whom there have been unhappy relations.

584 (*b*) *Marriage Booth: Marhwa.* In the meantime there has been
349 far more to do at the girl's house where the actual wedding is to take place, for the wedding booth (*marhwa* or *mandap*) must be constructed there. This is usually set up in the courtyard immediately in front of the girl's house. In this booth the essentials of the marriage ceremony are performed and the sacred pole is fixed at its centre. Male relatives of the bridegroom help to build it, but women must have nothing to do with its construction. Before the men who come to work can actually start operations the bridegroom must have his body
[302 rubbed with *til* oil mixed with *haldi*. The anointing should be done
602 by his sister or another close female relative and he should then be
543] dressed in clothes which have been dipped in *haldi* water. The construction of the *marhwa* may now begin.

584 The *marhwa* is constructed of prescribed kinds of wood. Its
349 size varies, but is usually about eight feet square and six to seven feet
824 high. Nine poles are used in its construction, including the central post, called the *magrohan*, which however does not reach up to the roof. *Saleh* (*Boswellia serrata*) is the most favoured kind of wood and if procurable is preferred, both for the framework of the booth and for the sacred pole at its centre. The eight remaining poles are arranged so that there are three on a side. Text figure 21 will make this clear.[1] If *saleh* wood is not available, *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*), *sal* (*Sheora robusta*), *char* (*Buchanania latifola*) or even bamboo are permissible. The central post, however, must be of *saleh* wood and they search far and wide until they have found it. The leaves of the banana plant are tied to each of the eight poles and over the top. The

[1] [on p. 86. - Analyst]

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busy and they will not bother the sweets. Often it is said that no particular ceremonies are observed as the body is being carried toward the burial place. Nothing is done at the time of the crossing of small streams.

Up to this time no work has been done at the funeral ground, and no one has gone ahead to prepare the grave, or pyre; all is done after the arrival with the body. The funeral ground is always near some stream or *nala* (dried up water-course). Kols practice both cremation and burial and it is usual that the dead are cremated only a few feet away from the place where the burials take place. The introduction of cremation may be due to Hindu influences. On the whole burials are far more common than cremations because, Kols suggest, they are much cheaper, and the subsequent formalities of gathering the ashes and taking them to a river are not necessary. Burial is much the simpler process, and is first described.

BURIAL (*Garna.*) The funeral party arrives at the *masan* where the body is put down, head north and feet south. Some of the men in the party have brought implements for digging and go to seek a suitable place to dig the grave. Others remain with the body and prepare it for burial.

Preparation of the Body. Up till this time it is usual to find that the person has on the clothes in which he died. As he was transported to the burial place a white cloth was thrown over him. Now this and the clothes are removed. In the case of a male corpse the men attend to the changing of the garments, the washing and anointing. If the corpse be of the opposite sex the women attend to everything connected with its preparation. The body is first washed with water brought by the women from the village tank or well in new *gharas*. No pregnant woman should carry water, nor should she accompany the procession to the funeral place. Some of the water may be retained for a ceremonial sprinkling when the people get back to the village. After the body has been washed and dried it is anointed with a mixture of *til* or *karwa* oil and *haldi*. Sometimes *ghi* is also rubbed on. The corpse is now ready to wrap in new clothes which have just been purchased. If the family is not able to afford new clothes old ones which have been carefully washed will do. The grave clothes must always be white no matter the sex or the age. No coloured cloth should be used. The old clothes are taken away by the Basor. The hair is oiled and combed and the body is made as attractive as possible. Sometimes, in more Hinduized situations, the *nai* is called to shave the body and to prepare the hair, but he is not usually called for a woman. If the body is

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the ashes are thrown is called the *Kharighat* and the ceremony described as *khari thanda karna*—"the cooling of the ashes."

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THE RETURN TO THE DWELLING PLACE. Whether the body has been buried or burned, the return from that place to the house is essentially the same. The party moves off one by one after encircling the spot, but presently the men linger and group themselves together, and the women do likewise in another group in the rear. Having once completed the round of the grave or cremation place, they should not look backwards lest the movement be interpreted by the spirit as an invitation to come along; or lest they be attacked. The women bring back with them any of the sweets that remained after placing them along the pathway as they went toward the funeral place, also some of the water left after washing the body. The sweets are cast into the tank or river in which they bathe, and the water is kept till they reach the house after the ceremonial bath, when a bit of it may be mixed with *haldi* and scattered on the chief mourner or others, and the rest used to put out any fires in the house.

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Bathing. The ceremonial bath should be taken in a tank or a stream, and if necessary a detour is made to include one in their return trip. If neither is available water from a well may be used, but the actual bathing must be at some distance from the well and the water should be drawn by some one who was not at the burial ground. Whether the bath is taken at a tank or stream, the men should bathe first. The bathers should line up and if possible should all go under the water together. After being submerged once or twice they step back to the bank and proceed home in their wet clothes. The women then bathe following much the same procedure, and go home in wet clothes. Reaching there fresh water must be used to wash their feet and now they may enter the house.

768 765 [296]

Cleaning the House. During the next few hours after the return home there is much to do. All clothes have to be changed and the dirty ones washed, preferably by a Hindu *dhobi*. All the pots and vessels made of earthenware must be thrown out upon the refuse pile. Sometimes they are broken and at other times are set out and the Domar or Basor comes and takes them away. The floors and walls of the house have to be plastered and thoroughly cleaned. The chief male mourner must have his head and face shaved, but a little tuft of hair, the sacred scalp lock or *chutiya*, is generally left. Usually a Hindu *nai* is called in for this, although the work may also be done

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768 765 [302] by a Kol. Often all male members of the family are shaved in this manner. Nothing is done to the female mourners to correspond with this. Unkempt hair and dirty clothes are the signs of their mourning.

765 MOURNING FOR THE DEAD (*Daswi*). This may also be considered as the period of uncleanness, although many Kols do not recognize it as such. The number of days that the dead should be mourned, and certain taboos observed, varies according to sex and age. For a man or for a married youth the period is ten days, hence "*daswi*";—for a woman or a married maiden nine days; for a child it varies according to age: five days, three days, or, if it is a very small child there is no period of mourning at all. All over the area the customs are uniform [184] in the cases of men and women, but for children there seems to be a considerable variation of custom.

765 262 During the period of mourning certain foods are taboo and certain kinds of cooking vessels must not be used in the preparation of food. Only simple food should be eaten: nothing should therefore be cooked in *ghi* or oils. No salt or flesh of any kind should be taken. The cooking vessels which are taboo are those in which rich foods are prepared and cooked in oils and *ghi*, such as a frying pan. This rules out the cooking of *puris*. The food during that period must always be [264] eaten at home, and on no account should one accept food cooked in another's house or by someone who is not a member of the family, even if it is cooked in his own house. Violators of these regulations [623] are dealt with by the *panch*. One should also stay pretty close to home, and should not freely enter others' houses, especially at the time they are eating.

765 775 FEEDING THE DEAD. The Kols have a custom of feeding the dead which they generally call *dona*, or *dauna rakhna*. The dead should be fed twice daily during the period of mourning if one can afford it, and if not, once in the evening. This is discontinued after the funeral feast. The chief mourner is generally expected to prepare this food, or it may be prepared along with the ordinary household food. Such food is placed on a *dona*, leaf-plate, and is taken out from the house to a distance of from thirty to forty yards, in the direction of the graveyard. This is placed in the crotch of a tree or it may be set down on the ground. Other things may also be placed there, things the

Fig. 23

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765 [302] The home is plastered, the barber is called and the faces are shaved and the nails of both hands and feet are pared. A special bath is taken and clean clothes put on. The people who are invited to such a feast are usually only relatives, though occasionally a larger group of the deceased's tribal friends may be invited. Others, who do not actually eat, are there to watch and talk, making quite a crowd. Special food has been prepared, and the things tabooed during the period of mourning are freely made use of and eaten at the feast. Hereafter all the members of the household, except the chief mourner, may freely partake of any food and there are no restrictions. The chief mourner eats this food at the feast, but for a year following must continue to observe the food taboos of the first ten days as noted above. There are no dishes or food peculiar to the funeral feast; it and the wedding feast may be much alike as far as the [262] kinds of foods are concerned—rice, pulse, curries, of either vegetables or meats, *puris*, *bara*, *dahi*, *chapatis*, and the like. The presence of a large group is considered desirable and is a sign of solidarity.

765 177 The first morsel consumed at the funeral feast should not be taken by a Kol. It is usually the custom to call in a Hindu lower caste man, a Basor, who eats this. At this time he is called *Mahabrahmin*—great priest.[1] He is summoned only in the case of adults. Certain of the deceased's possessions are also his right and he is given things such as the axe, knife, sickle, *khurpi*, etc. In Maihar the general report was that a Basor is never called in for any funeral feast. When called in it is the duty of the Basor to take the first morsel of food. He also has a right to take away with him the vessels from which he has eaten, should they be of brass. If he is fed on a leaf plate he has the right to certain brass vessels used in serving. At any rate he gets something. No one can begin to eat till he has begun, and often he delays it, asking for a boon or gift of some kind. The Kols have been able to give no explanation of why he must be called. A Basor was also asked, and he said that it is because Kols fear to take the first bite, as it must be offered to the deceased and in his name. He might therefore come and possess the person who takes the first bite, and to avoid this possibility they call some one who is not of their family. Is not the Basor afraid? we enquired. No, he is not. The word *Mahabrahmin* is usually applied to the funeral priest, who is himself a Brahmin. Crooke[2] has given an account of his duties: the Basor seems to perform his duties for the Kols and they in return call him *Mahabrahmin*.

1 Dr. Guha suggests that the importance attached to the Basor may indicate that these observances were borrowed from the Hindus and that the Basor is the symbol of the Hindus.

2 Crooke, William, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 144.

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778 [271 776] in these vessels, and a tiny hole pierced in the bottom so that the water drops over the shrine. This is popular in warm weather when the *devi* should be cooled and the dripping water is pleasing to her.

17. *Tinsel* (*Tika*): Women often place a small round dot made [302] of lac tinsel on the centre of their foreheads. It is usually of red colour. These bits of tinsel are used in the shrines as well, and are stuck on it here and there. The *devis* like them and they help to attract them to the shrine.

18. *Stone* (*Patthar*). Bits of stone, usually pieces rounded in the bed of streams and longish in shape, are often found somewhere about the shrine. This may be an imitation of the *Salagrama* stones found [431] in connection with the worship of Vishnu. Sometimes they are of *lingam* type such as used in the worship of Siva.

This sums up the items usually found in Kol shrines. Probably no shrine we saw had all these components, though the Kaimur shrine came nearest to it. In addition to the above, there was at Kaimur [823] an unusual feature. This was a flat stone which had apparently come from some ancient Hindu temple and on which two figures were carved. The *panda* of the shrine claimed that it was brought from Rewa and [782 789] that the figures represented Sharda and Kalki. The stone must have weighed about eighty pounds, but, it was claimed, if a *hom* offering were performed when it was moved, it became very light and was [386] easy to transport. It was coloured red with *sendur*. It will have been noticed how imperfectly anthropomorphized the godlings are, and that no special images are required.

The only Kol shrine which had brick walls and a roof was found on the outskirts of Katni. The room measured about five feet square inside, was four feet high, and had a flat roof. This was called the shrine of Khermai, although on the flat top Barnai was said to dwell. [824] Also tongs were there for Sannyasi *deo*. The usual bundle of *kusa* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*) was on top of it.

778 793 The offerings, the lighting of the lights and the placing of the necessary parts, are all in the hands of the *panda*. It is not part of his work, however, to keep the shrine clean and properly plastered. This is the duty of the women of the village, and they take turns in doing it. The shrine is plastered at least once a week and cleaned oftener. The sweepings, including ashes, dust, bits of cocoanut shells and the like, are not swept to the ground beside the shrine, but are carefully put into a basket by the woman who is doing the work. If they should be thrown out upon the earth, evil will result, so they are carried to a stream or a tank and thrown into the water. They are sacred ashes, likened unto the ashes following a cremation and must be respected.

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14. The Wife's Glory.

539 585 *Bundawali are,*
Bunda ke rale uchata gai,
Jota mari gai.

[302 554] O fair one bedecked with that spot of vermilion,
If that be gone
Then shattered is all thy beauty.

15. A Warning Song.

Lakh gori lakh sanwari,
Lakh na chare pahar,
Bich dhar men gir pare,
Kaua gidh na khay.

Though her complexion be fair or dusky,
Though she climb hills *lakhs* of times,
Yet if she falls in the mid-stream of life,
Not even crows or vultures will touch her.

16. Marriage Song: For the Time of Parting.

Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?
Dulha ke bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal.
Hathi bhange ghora jam uni bicharo, uni bicharo,
Gutka khaye langa lugar samp jaye,
Gani gatili jariya jay tang utaye bichhu,
Jay, Mahadeo ko, jay.
Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?

What palanquin carrier will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest?
Her husband's carriers will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest.
He asked for an elephant—
But was given a horse,
And a camel was given him too.
If this potent be eaten
All poisonous snakes will fly,
And the scorpion will vanish

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XXVII.

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Phaggu—A Kol who turned Back.

Harlal—A Kol and Modern life.

[Facing p. 249]

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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Khambā: the sacred post.
Kalas: The water pot. 585
Chauka: The small raised platform under the booth. [192]
Haldī: Turmeric (*Circuma longa*).

7. This is a wedding song from Barela. The headings indicate the time the song is sung.

8. The important guests are teased by being told that they are being fed with food fit only for animals.

9. Another song with a sting. Sung in connection with the arrival of the bridegroom's party. From Salavara.

10, 11. From Barela.

12. A marriage *dādrā* from Barela. The whole is a coarse series of [522] jesting absurdities: the unmarried woman can hardly have a daughter-in-law, and yet the latter is pregnant. It is, however, her sister who is fed the food given to women in confinement, and a woman who is a mere spectator to all this suddenly gives birth to the child which a barren woman takes and suckles.

13. A wedding *dādrā* from Katni. The *hadam* tree is the *Nauclea orientalis*. In wedding imagery the bridegroom is frequently likened to a parrot. [302

14. A *rāī* from Katni. The spot of vermilion denotes a living husband. 554]

15. A wedding song from Barela in which the bride is teased and warned to be careful. A lakh is 100,000. [80]

16. From Barela. The *bardī* is being teased. Kajli forest is a forest frequented by elephants. A *guṭkā* is a magic ball prepared by devotees which, when eaten, is supposed to make one invisible. Here it makes others disappear [189]

V. Songs of Religion.

1. *Dādrās* from the vicinity of Katni. These are examples of numerous 539 songs of this nature which were collected and translated but are not re- 577 produced here. It is likely that most of the songs centering about Rām 869 and his experiences in search of Sītā are borrowed as in their actual worship Rām is seldom taken into account by Kols. Dasarath was the father of [177] Rām.

3. From Sihora: a *rāī*.

4. A *dohārī* from Imalhapur. The *ghumachī* is said to be a fruit of [37] reddish colour with black spots upon it. It is probably the *ghunghachī* (*Abrus Precatorius*.) For *chakhī-chakvā* birds see notes on 1: 2.

5. This has references to the Rāmāyaṇa story. A *dohārī* from Imalhapur.

6. A song for the *phāg* season, composed in Garha. *Phāg* and *holī* 539 refer to the same season. A *bunda* is a dot or decoration on the forehead [302] to enhance a woman's beauty. Kashi is the holy city of Benares.

7. A *bhajan* called *sumaran*—'song of remembrance'. Hinglās: or [778] Kailās, the holy mount of Siva in the Himalayas. Maihar: a town and state about 100 miles north of Jubbulpore. It is the seat of the main temple dedicated to Shārdā *devī*.

8. A *bhagat* from Jubbulpore. *Lagan*: the wedding horoscope. [585] *Barāt*: the party which comes to the girl's house bringing the groom with

Ham.